

POST-ELECTION SPECIAL ISSUE

THE INDYPENDENT

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IMMIGRANTS FIGHT BACK, P6

CAN THE DEMOCRATS BE
SAVED?, P12

HOW TO TALK TO YOUR KIDS
ABOUT TRUMP, P16

AND MORE...





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EDITOR'S NOTE

LOVE & STRUGGLE

We are facing the fight of our lives. It's that simple.

Not that you would know it from listening to leading liberal politicians, media mavens and even labor leaders since Donald Trump won the electoral college and the presidency on Nov. 8.

"If you succeed, the country succeeds," President Obama told Trump when they chatted in front of reporters during his successor's November 10 visit to the White House. In her concession speech Hillary Clinton urged Americans to "keep an open mind," about what Trump could accomplish as the 45th president of the United States, even as his emboldened supporters engaged in a wave of bias attacks across the country.

What to expect from Trump was made more abundantly clear on Nov. 13 when he appointed white supremacist media mogul Stephen Bannon (See Page 7) to be a top advisor in his administration. Bannon heads Breitbart News, an influential far right website that offers its readers a steady diet of racist tropes and wild conspiracy theories. Neo-Nazi groups and the Ku Klux Klan marveled at how they had suddenly gone from the fringes of politics to having one of their own literally steps away from the Oval Office.

This is not normal.

The past 60 years has seen a vast expansion in the civil rights of members of historically marginalized groups in our society, i.e. every one who is not a straight white male. Cultural norms about what is acceptable behavior have also changed. Now that progress is going into reverse.

Yet the normalizing of Trump continues. This isn't about the personal failings of establishment liberals. The problem is they are fully encrusted inside a power structure that rewards them handsomely. They may revile Trump but in the end they are more concerned about the legitimacy and stability of the system of which the presidency is a key part than about the people who will be targeted by Trump.

In this environment, the Left's role is to put the safety and well-being of people first and resist all the ugly manifestations of incipient fascism at every turn until it is defeated. Here at *The Indypendent*, we will accompany social justice movements every step of the way in this struggle and continue striving to give voice to those most affected. It was what this publication was created to do.

We won't know how bad it's going to be until Trump and his minions take power in January. We can expect them to go on the offensive on many

fronts at the same time. Liberal opposition will likely be weak and inconsistent. We are going to lose a lot. There will be people and places we love who will be hurt and we won't always be able to protect them, which will sting even more. Social movements will also fight back fiercely and win victories that would not seem possible.

One thing I learned from the Bush era is that we will have to pace ourselves for the long haul to avoid demoralization and burnout. If there has been a saving grace since November 8, it is that these terrible events have driven us toward each other in our fear and our vulnerability. In the face of great evil, we value all the more that which cannot be taken away — love, friendship, our compassion for others.

In my own life, I find myself not only cherishing friends and family more keenly but feeling an acute appreciation for any and all signs of kindness and human decency. The mess we're in can only be solved through politics and collective action. But the strength we will need to persevere may come from quieter moments between the storms.

HERE'S HOW YOU CAN HELP

The Indy's ability to be a powerful voice going forward is growing. Thanks to foundation support, we began placing outdoor news boxes around the city earlier this fall for the first time. This will allow us to double our circulation for starters and reach audiences who would not have otherwise discovered *The Indy*.

To continue expanding we will need the help of supporters who are willing to keep an eye on boxed placed in their neighborhoods. We also are looking to get the paper into more venues and distribute it at more events and subway stations. It takes a village to move a newspaper. To find out more, email us at contact@indypendent.org or call 212-904-1282.

— John Tarleton



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THE MOURNING AFTER

WAKING UP IN TRUMP'S AMERICA

BY NICHOLAS POWERS

The blue morning painted my bedroom into a dark ocean. I was at the bottom of it. Sunken by fears that moved through shadows like cold currents. Drawing breath was work. Lifting my head was hard labor.

I reached for my phone, typed in “NY Times.”

The previous night, I met friends at a bar in Bushwick to watch Hillary Clinton win the presidency. But state after state went red for Trump. I left before the final votes were counted, hoping to wake up and see her shimmy a victory dance on the news.

Then I read the *Times*’ headline, “Trump Triumphs.” Sitting up, I shook my head as if throwing out the words. Something broke. Inside me. Like bone snapping. Like a photo of home being torn.

“I can’t believe they did it,” I muttered, “I can’t.”

In the shower, I stared at water swirling into the drain. I got dressed, left for work beneath a grey, cloud filled sky. All around me I saw strained faces. Construction men sullenly strapped on tool belts. Parents somberly took kids to school. People lined up sadly for the bus. Something died in us. Some hope that America could accept our humanity. Where that hope had been was now an emptiness. It echoed so loudly that I leaned on a streetlight and screamed inside myself: Oh God. Oh God. Oh God.

Rubbing my face, I blinked, the world was still here. Trump was still president. The man had called us rapists, terrorists, he said our neighborhoods were warzones and we were losers. Now he was putting his hands on the power of the state and soon would hurl it at us.

I knew that under his administration, some of us will be arrested. Some of us, deported. Some of us fired. Some of us killed. I felt my friends within me. Already terrified. Political homies who’d be surveilled and beaten at protests. Students who were immigrants. Neighbors who’d go back to jail.

My phone buzzed, I took it and saw a row of text messages: OMG! — I’m scared of this world — My heart is broken — HATE THIS COUNTRY! I stood there with a phone that buzzed with a new text every second as if I’d taken out my heart and held it as it pulsed with fear.

It took work to stand up. It took work to breathe and walk to the train. Everything was work now.

LEARNING FROM HISTORY

“We survived slavery,” she said, “We got this.”

“Slavery,” I listened to Jamara on the phone and looked from the train window at the Long Island suburbs. Trump won Long Island. Nearly every American city, like New York was liberal blue, surrounded by conservative red suburbs and countryside, packed with whites who threw our nation into the small hands of a reality TV star.

I scanned the white faces on the train. You in the business suit? Or you in the hard hat and paint splattered boots? Did you vote for Trump?

“We did survive slavery,” I said to her in a high squeaky voice, “Although that is a low bar.”

“We have a long history of overcoming,” she spoke in warm, reassuring tones. “Conservatives are trying to hold on to an America that

doesn’t exist anymore. Time is on our side. We’re strong. We got this.”

I thanked her and hung up, soon she texted clips of Black Panthers holding up their fists. Moving the phone in front of the window, they looked like giant, Black historical figures, straddling the white suburbs and raising their fists over them, again and again.

FEAR 101

“My president is Black,” Young Jeezy rapped from the speakers as we sat on the shuttle bus, students and professors traded looks and smiled as if to say, “What the hell?” Jeezy recorded it after Obama’s 2008 win. Our new president, Trump, was not black and definitely not getting rap songs showing him love.

“They playing this to keep our spirits up,” a young woman said to everyone. “Them DJ’s at Hot 97 are funny. They know what we’re feeling.”

I nodded and saw a dreamy, far-away glaze on people’s faces as if they were transported back in time to the euphoria of Obama’s election. As the song finished, a troubled wind passed through their eyes and one by one, they blinked and were again in the present.

We rolled up to the college and I went to New Academic Building. I loved it here. The halls were a little United Nations where Muslim women in hijab laughed with Caribbean guys who then shouted to Long Island white jocks about a party who in turn invited a Dominican woman with dyed green hair who slung her arm around her girlfriend and said sure, we’ll come through. It was fun. It was New York kids becoming New York adults.

Today the halls were quiet. Professors huddled at doorways, talking low, rubbing words over each other like packs of ice on a bruise. When I got to my class, the students were sitting in the dark, staring at their hands. When I asked what was going on, a young man raised his face and said, “It feels like someone died.”

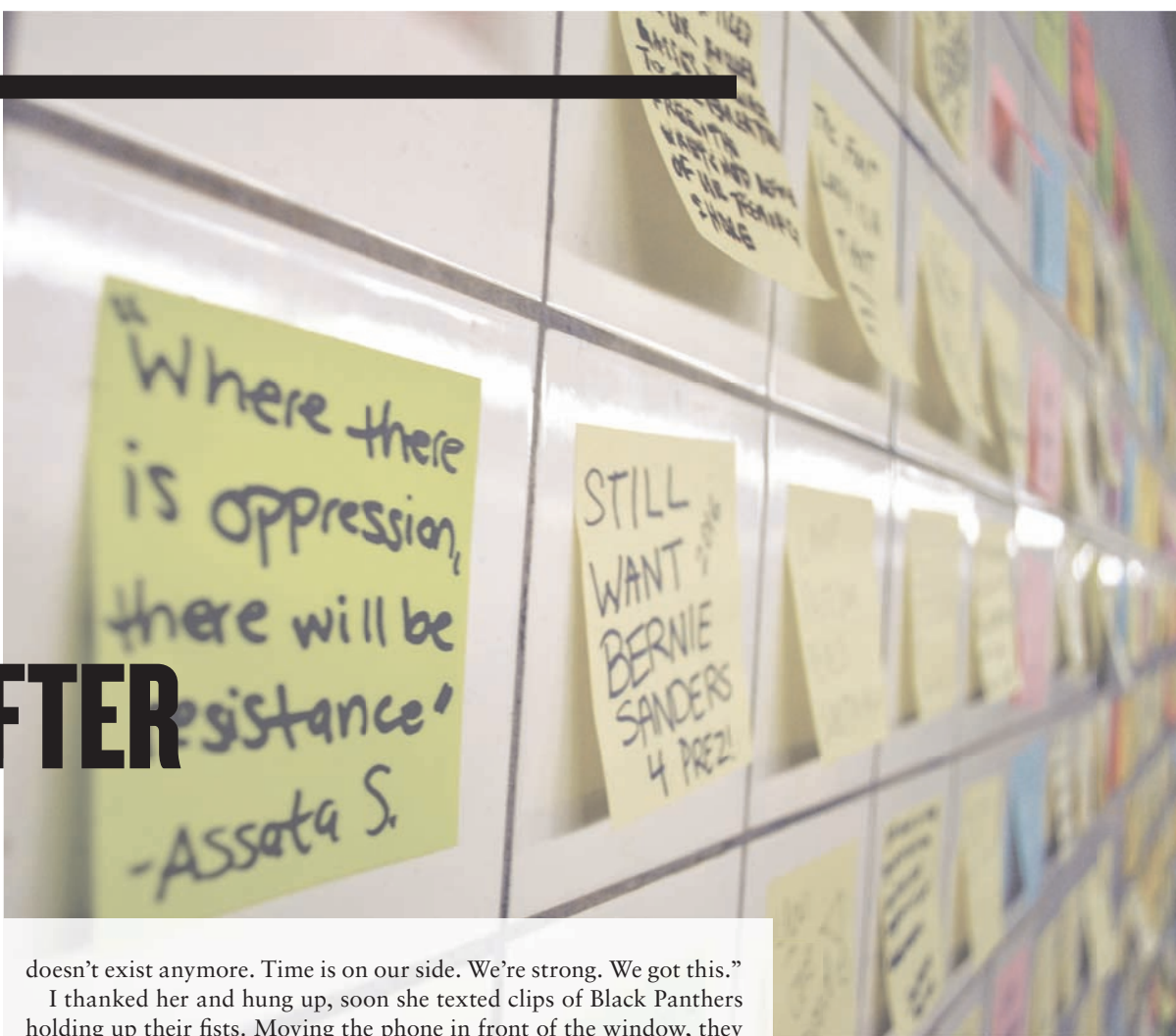
I asked them to tell me, to lay it all down. One by one, they spoke of fear and shock. One of the women said white people were walking with their chest out. Full of pride. In the back, a disabled man who always dressed like he was going to a club. “I was at the station and a car of white guys sped by,” he said, face scrunched in post-shock confusion. “They yelled get out of here nigger!”

Others said they felt trapped by the way others looked at them; like they were surrounded by a million little Trumps. “Somehow,” said a student flipping through her book nervously, “the wall he wanted to build was built overnight. It’s in every city and street. It’s in my

“MAYBE THE WALL WAS ALWAYS THERE BUT WE CHOSE NOT TO SEE IT.”

family. I can’t talk to them. I get angry just thinking about it.” She looked at everyone. “Maybe the wall was always there but we chose not to see it.”

Continued on page 15



PETER RUGH



ERIK MCGREGOR

STREAM OF CONSCIOUSNESS: New Yorkers react to the election results on the walls of the subway station at 14th St. and 6th Ave.

NOT MY PRESIDENT: Anti-Trump protesters march through Midtown on the night after the election results were made known.

HOW WE WOUND UP IN THIS MESS

BY DANNY KATCH

A week before Hillary Clinton lost Pennsylvania, a major strike began in Philadelphia. Members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 walked off the job to fight pension caps, massive health care cost increases and weak safety provisions that allowed bus and train workers to be forced to work with as little as nine hours between shifts.

Back when she was fending off a left-wing primary challenge from Bernie Sanders, Clinton made sure to visit a picket line of striking Verizon workers in New York City. But now that Sanders was long defeated, she had a different strategy, one that was articulated by former Pennsylvania governor and DNC chair Ed Rendell, who told the *Washington Post*, “Will [Donald Trump] have some appeal to working-class Dems in Levittown or Bristol? Sure. For every one he’ll lose one and a half [to] two Republican women.”

As a result, even as her campaign furiously worked to turn out the Pennsylvania vote, Clinton ignored a strike on the part of a largely African American workforce in a city that is a main Democratic stronghold in a key “battleground” state. You may have heard how that turned out.

Trump’s shocking victory is being widely described as an upsurge of a disaffected white working class driven by racial resentment, but the numbers tell a more complicated story. The Republican vote was slightly less in 2016 than 2012 and 2008, while the Democrat vote fell off a cliff — down four million and ten million respectively from Obama’s totals four and eight years ago. Clinton lost the vital states Michigan and Wisconsin because Democratic turnout dropped dramatically in majority non-white cities Detroit and Milwaukee — and because smaller cities that had twice supported Obama this time went with Trump.

None of which is to say that racism is not a key element of this election. Trump channeled anger and anxiety over the injustices of 21st century American capitalism into the most open embrace of white nationalism of any president since the civil rights movement. The victory of a man who flirts on Twitter with the nouvelle Nazis of the alt-right has already emboldened a wave of stories of harassment and threats against people of color in “red” and “blue” states alike. Equally frightening is the confidence that rapists will take from the fact that the country just voted a sexual predator into a position long-promoted as that of national father figure.

The tens of thousands who have already taken to the streets against Trump and the growing talk of large-scale protests at his inauguration show that many people want to take action against his reactionary agenda. But for those actions to be guided by effective strategies, we need

to understand how we got to this point.

Hillary Clinton was both a target of unwarranted sexism and a terrible candidate. Even leaving aside her center-right record as a senator and Secretary of State, this is someone with horrible political judgment. She spent the years leading up to her presidential run raking in cash from private speeches to bankers in an era of white-hot rage at Wall Street. That the Democratic Party felt so confident ordinary people would agree it’s “her turn” is an example of the party’s profound arrogance and disconnect from the American people. The political establishment of both parties have now been defeated by Trump.

Barack Obama may be seen as a saint in the coming months in comparison to his successor, but history may one day see his presidency as the final straw in the discrediting of the postwar two-party system — precisely because, after decades of rising inequality and declining faith in political institutions, he inspired people to have faith in it one last time. Instead, he delivered more of the same: bank bailouts, worker sellouts, and an economy so precarious that almost half of the people in the richest country in the world live on the edge of financial crisis, unable to handle a one-time, \$400 emergency expense.

The breathless reports of job growth and economic progress regularly touted by liberal pundits, have little bearing on the lives of most Americans, whose household income is lower today than it was in 2007, even as the costs of rent, child care, college and yes health care continue to climb. Obama remains personally popular, but the failures of his administration have left a wreckage of dashed hopes and bitter cynicism, creating a climate in which a con artist and pathological liar can strike tens of millions of people as the only guy telling it like it is.

But this election isn’t just an American story. The years since the global Great Recession have seen economic crises morph into political crises across the world. Frustration with political systems that have overseen endless austerity has led to a turn towards authoritarianism in the Philippines, Turkey and Russia. Across Europe long-standing parties of the moderate right and left have been discredited; challenged by parties of the xenophobic far right, such as France’s National Front and the Freedom Party in Austria, and the radical left, such as Greece’s SYRIZA and Spain’s Podemos.

This polarization hasn’t hit the United States in the form of major new parties. Instead it has been shoe-horned into our rigid political system, creating crises inside what radicals have sometimes described not as two distinct parties but two wings of the capitalist party. While Trump was taking the Republican primaries by storm, Bernie Sanders was drawing huge crowds — and votes — for what he unashamedly called socialism (even if a few generations ago it would have been called New Deal liberalism).



DAVID HALLENBACH

One of the key stories of 2016 is that the Republican Party was too weak to prevent Trump’s right-wing populism from taking over, while the Democrats closed ranks to protect U.S. capital from party voters — referred to as the “Red Army” in leaked emails. Once Sanders was defeated (and largely disappeared inside the smothering embrace of the Clinton campaign), the door was wide open for Trump to pitch himself as the voice of revolt against a Wall Street status quo well-represented by Clinton.

In the immediate wake of Trump’s victory, first thoughts will be defensive: preventing deportations, protecting against hate crimes, protesting the inauguration of the Rapist-in-Chief. But beating Trump and Trumpism over the long haul will require playing offense. The Sanders campaign showed that tens of millions of people — including white working class men — will rally behind a socialist calling for wealth redistribution and speaking out against the politics of scapegoating. How to rebuild that momentum and connect it with protest movements like Black Lives Matter and the pipeline war at Standing Rock will be key questions, as will the debate over whether our efforts should focus inside a Democratic Party whose leadership cursed Sanders and enabled Trump. But if there’s one overriding lesson to be learned from this endless campaign, it’s that the left can’t beat the right by retreating to the center.

Danny Katch is the author of *Socialism...Seriously: A Brief Guide to Human Liberation* (Haymarket Books, 2015).

MOBILIZING RESENTMENT

TRUMP'S PATH TO POWER

BY CHIP BERLET

The Trump campaign was a study in populist insurgency. Specifically, a right-wing populist insurgency that focused on mobilizing white nationalism, anti-feminist misogyny, xenophobia, Christian nationalism, and conspiracy theories about the threat of treacherous liberals and totalitarian “big government.”

Trump supporters make up the classic right-wing populist constituency, the same kind of people who populated the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and who voted for Hitler in the late Weimar period in 1930s Germany. Many of the Trump voters are objectively downwardly mobile, or fear they will soon be pushed down the economic ladder. White people — especially white men — also fear the loss of their power, status and prestige in political, social and cultural sectors. They feel displaced by unworthy others.

Trump supporters inhabit information silos, trusting only information from sources they deem reliable, such as Fox News, Breitbart.com and bloggers like Michelle Malkin. Armed with the supposed truth, they then begin publicly articulating their grievances — first to family and friends and then on AM radio call-in talk shows or social media. In such settings, they can be mobilized to air their grievances through attending a rally or meeting, where movement organizers draw them into participating in rightwing social and political movement activities on a regular basis.

Right-wing populist movements rarely succeed, and even when they do, they rarely lead to fascist state power. But once a right-wing populist movement gets going, there are victims. Some of Trump's supporters will feel the need to repress, suppress and oppress the bad people; defined as women, people of color, immigrants, religious minorities. The danger is not only individual acts of violence — although those will undoubtedly come — but also a longterm political mobilization. It is a trajectory that social scientists have written about for decades. The late Jean Hardisty, a political scientist, termed this process “mobilizing resentment.”

The John Birch Society, founded in Massachusetts, started spreading right-wing conspiracy theories in 1959. Subsequent studies revealed that Birchers— often dismissed as crazy or stupid by Democratic Party strategists — had, on average, a higher income level and educational attainment than most Americans. By 1964, the Birchers had joined with Christian Right activists and anti-communists to promote Republican Senator Barry Goldwater, Jr. for President. Goldwater lost big time, but the Right's Republican strategists learned they needed to energize a mass base of voters to capture the White House.

The Republican Party harnessed right-wing social movement activism to the GOP bandwagon, targeting movements fighting integration, abortion, big government, and creeping communism among liberal elites. The result was a “New Right” coalition of Christian evangelicals, economic libertarians, and militarists who put Ronald Reagan in the White House in the 1980 election.

As Republicans were successfully hitching themselves to right-wing social movements in the 1970s, the Democratic Party was doing the reverse, shunning the social movements of the left. Democratic Party elites were horrified by the 1972 presidential campaign of Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), who brought as delegates to the Miami convention a significant number of grassroots activists from the civil rights, antiwar, student rights, women's rights, environmentalist and gay rights movements.

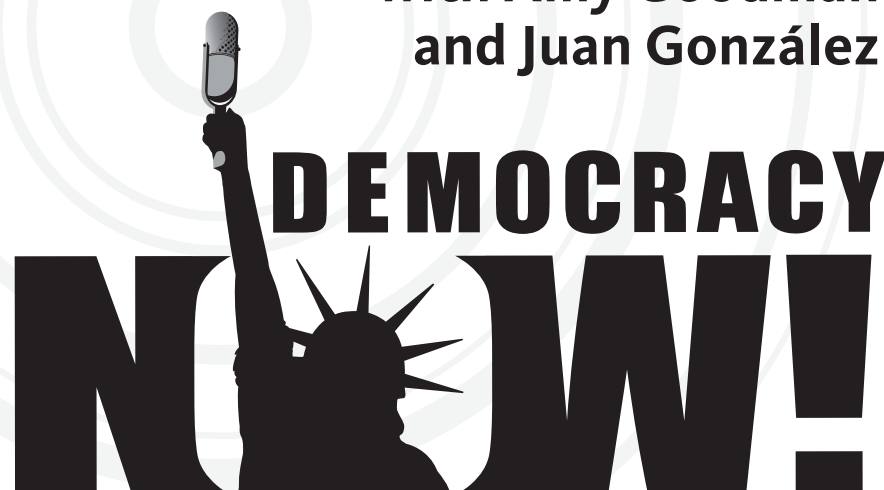
An elite faction of the Democratic Party intentionally sank the McGovern campaign. They then rewrote party rules to favor bigwigs and Inside-the-Beltway-types who they called, with no sense of shame or irony, “superdelegates.” The Democratic Party quickly accommodated the demands of the corporate elites for austerity and government cutbacks — joining the Republicans as champions of neoliberal capital.

All of which leads us to 2016. Clinton sought to cloak herself in a progressive mantle that she and husband Bill betrayed decades ago. Meanwhile, candidate

**ONCE THIS KIND
OF MOVEMENT
GETS GOING,
THERE ARE
VICTIMS.**

Continued on page 15

**A Daily Independent
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with Amy Goodman
and Juan González



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—Sarah Jaffe, host,
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NYC IMMIGRANTS VOW TO FIGHT DEPORTATIONS

BY ASTHA RAJVANSHI

Amid a packed crowd of protesters at a #HereToStay rally on Sunday, Nov. 13 in Columbus Circle, 22-year-old Juan stood outside the entrance to Central Park holding a sign that read, “I’m a dishwasher, not a rapist.”

Juan arrived in the United States from Colombia a mere six months before Donald J. Trump, who called immigrants “rapists” and “criminals,” was elected President.

In faded jeans and a green hoodie, he joined thousands of New Yorkers, many of them immigrants, to protest Trump’s anti-immigration agenda. Afterwards, he headed to work in the kitchen where he washes dishes.

“Hispanic people, Latin-American people, we are good workers. We are not rapists. We are the base of this country,” he said. “Donald Trump knows nothing about people who work in kitchens. It would be nice to see what kind of people work in the Trump Tower kitchen.”

It was the fifth consecutive day that protesters hit the streets over the election of Trump in cities across the country.

In New York, the protest was organized by Make The Road, a nonprofit organization made up primarily of low-income Latino and African-American immigrants. Earlier in the day, members and advocates had gathered in the group’s Bushwick headquarters to prepare for the protest. After eating a meal together, they put on T-shirts, slapped on stickers, and carried protest signs onto the subway.

As they spilled onto the streets, they chanted, “Say it loud, say it clear, immigrants are welcome here!” They marched from Trump’s hotel to his skyscraper headquarters, watched by Secret Service agents, police officers, and civilians on the sidelines.

“We’re here to stay, we’re resilient and we’re going to continue,” said Paola Lebron-Guzman, a young LGBT community organizer who moved to the United States from Puerto Rico.

The day after the election was tough for Guzman. The first conversations she had about the Trump presidency were with LGBT youth of color inside Gender Sexuality Alliance networks in Bushwick schools. Many of them, she said, wanted to sit and rant, or to ask questions about the election’s outcome.

“It was very intense,” she said. “How do you give them hope when you yourself are just floating by in a numb state?”

Guzman believes that the election results don’t represent the majority of America, because, “there were so many people who didn’t get to vote and weren’t accounted for.” (Democrat Hillary Clinton got more than 1 million votes than Trump, according to returns available a week after the election.) Of New York City’s 3 million foreign-born residents, many can’t vote because they’re not citizens. More than 500,000 are undocumented.

In an interview with CBS’s “60 Minutes” on Nov. 13, Trump said he plans to deport 2 to 3 million undocumented immigrants immediately, particularly individuals with criminal histories. “We are getting them out of our country or we are going to incarcerate,” he said.

He also told CBS that he still plans to build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border, and that once the border is “secure,” immigration officials would make “a determination” about whether to deport the remaining undocumented.

Under the Obama administration, the United

States increased the number of border patrol agents, heightened border surveillance, and deported more than 2.5 million people — more than under any other president. But the administration also made reforms. It granted protection to undocumented immigrants under its programs deferring action against those who had arrived here as children or were parents of American citizens, also known as DACA and DAPA.

Over 840,000 undocumented immigrants have been shielded from deportation under DACA for two-year periods and granted work permits. Trump, however, could revoke these protections through an executive order and direct the Department of Homeland Security to ramp up enforcement policies.

Sylvia, an undocumented immigrant from Mexico, attended the rally with her two American-born sons. She arrived in the United States 16 years ago and works as a community health worker.

Although she is scared about Trump’s presidency, she said she was ready to return to Mexico if forced. “But then who’s going to contribute to the country?” she asked.

Sylvia plans for her sons to stay here if she is deported.

Marco Reinoso, 78, immigrated from Ecuador and has lived in the U.S. for more than 40 years. He is a deli owner in Brooklyn and joined Make The Road 11 years ago. He said he attended the protest because he felt that this was the first time someone was unfit to be the president. “To me, [Trump] don’t know nothing,” he said. “He’s only a businessman, a real-estate guy, who wants to make billions.”

“Our people are suffering and our hearts are breaking,” Reinoso continued. “We need someone who understands what it means to be president of this country.”

HERE TO STAY: Several thousand immigrant New Yorkers rally at Columbus Circle on November 13.

INFORMATION YOU CAN USE

Almost immediately after election night, two Google Docs offering resources to help prepare for Trump’s presidency — let’s call them open source survival guides — started circulating on the web; one began by Ariel Federow, a Brooklyn based-performance artist, another is from Boston attorney Kara Huvitz. Thousands of people have since contributed. In another era such documents might have been passed from neighbor to neighbor, comrade to comrade, xeroxed pages with notes scribbled in the margins. Thankfully, we have the internet.

Together with the protests and organizing meetings underway across the country these survival guides are a testament to our communal ingenuity in times of crisis, which gives us hope.

In the survival guides readers will find information on self-defense, how to respond to acts of intimidation and harassment, immigration and civil liberty legal aid, mental health, food security, preventing internet surveillance and receiving medical care such as hormone treatments, long-term birth control and abortions.

You’ll find the fruits of the collective endeavor Federow kicked off at TheWorldIsATerriblePlace.com/OhCrap/

Huvitz document, “Concrete Suggestions in Preparation for January 2017’s Change in American Government” can be accessed via this link: bit.ly/2fALDQc.

— INDYPENDENT STAFF

MOVEMENT BUILDING IN A NEW POLITICAL MOMENT

BY HARMONY GOLDBERG

Like so many people, I am still struggling to get my political bearings in the wake of the election. I think it is very important for left organizers to enter this next period humbly, willing to rethink our assumptions and craft new ways of approaching our work. But there are a few points that are very clear to me.

We need to move through this period differently than we did during the last moment of ground-shifting rollback for the left: September 11, 2001. I was a young organizer then, part of an emergent youth movement that was working against a wave of racist ballot initiatives — eliminating affirmative action and bilingual education, denying undocumented people access to health care and public education — that expressed the white backlash as California became a majority people-of-color state.

Along with many other movements at that time, we were on an upswing, and we were starting to have real impact. Then the planes hit the Twin Towers. We got scared, rightly so. We turned inward. We convinced ourselves that having a better critique of our conditions was the key to our ability to affect those conditions. We made ourselves small in the face of the greatest political challenge of our lifetimes, and we lost our momentum.

Now, in the wake of a period where we were finally once again gaining real momentum, we are facing an even bigger challenge. This time, we need to make a different choice. We need to hold each other close and help each other mourn this painful loss over the next several weeks, but we also need to move quickly to face outward, to meet these challenges head-on. We must prepare to defend ourselves and our brothers and sisters who will face real and growing dangers: Muslims and immigrants and queer people and Black people. And we need to go big, step out of our left bubbles and actually try to speak to all poor and working-class people in this country. We need to both explicitly challenge racism and speak to the suffering of poor and working-class white people.

This is not likely to be our first impulse in the wake of an election in which 58% of white people cast ballots for the racist demagogue Donald Trump. But polls indicate that a significant section of Trump voters voted for him despite his racism, not because of it. We need to fight for those people, too, helping them to make a different

meaning out of their fear and anger and suffering, and working with them to see that their real self-interest lies in opposing racism rather than investing in it or accepting it.

MEET YOU AT THE INTERSECTION

Though many people on the left analyze the world through a framework that looks at the intersections between different forms of oppression, in practice there has been a divide between struggles for racial and gender justice and the fight against economic inequality, to our peril. It would be easy to respond to this election by accelerating that divergence. Many organizers of color are understandably frustrated at being asked to empathize with the pain of poor white people. On the other hand, many white organizers are talking about organizing white working-class people in ways that either silence race or frame the work as only being in solidarity with communities of color, rather than showing how opposing racism is in the self-interest of poor white people. We will continue to lose — and lose big — if we don't craft a different story about race, class, gender, and nation that can help us all to make a different meaning of our suffering.

There are some organizations around the country that are in the early days of reorienting to the fight in this more expansive, integrative, and ambitious way:

People's Action, a national federation of community organizations based in white, Black, Latino, and Native communities around the country; #AllOfUs, a new organization of millennial activists dedicated to fighting racism and Wall Street; sections of white organizers in Showing Up For Racial Justice, and more. It will take courage, humility, and a willingness to make mistakes to reorient our work to think big and to fight for everyone, but we have no other choice. If we are going to build the scale of power we need to stop Donald Trump, we are going to need a breadth of solidarity that will push us beyond all of our past experiences and many of our current boundaries.

Harmony Goldberg is a longtime political educator who works with community organizations around the country. She is based in Brooklyn.



SOGUNBI ADEJI

SIGNS OF THE

TIMES: A pair of activists paint banners at the May Day community space in advance of a Nov. 12 meeting on how to respond to Donald Trump's rise to power.

THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN AMERICA

In his Nov. 9 victory speech, Donald Trump pledged to be a president for "all Americans." If you believe that, we have a condo to sell you.

As one of his first acts as President-elect, Trump on Nov. 13 appointed Stephen Bannon, the former head of the Breitbart News Web site, as his chief strategist. America's white supremacists greeted it with glee.

"What timeline are we even on anymore," Tony Hovater, a leader in the neo-Nazi Traditional Workers Party, remarked on Facebook. "We're like one or two degrees of separation away from the fucking President."

Richard Spencer, a poster child for the ostentatious, youth-driven white nationalist movement known as the "alt-right," also expressed approval.

"Strategist is the best possible position for Steve Bannon in the Trump White House," he tweeted, a few days before Twitter suspended his account. "Bannon will answer directly to Trump and focus on the big picture, not get lost in the weeds." Twitter said it had suspended the accounts of Spencer and several other alt-right figures because it had "seen an uptick in the number of accounts" that

were "inciting or engaging in the targeted abuse or harassment of others."

Bannon, who had previously worked as a banker for Goldman Sachs and as a movie producer, took the helm of Breitbart following the death of its founder, Andrew Breitbart. He quickly turned the site, already regarded as a far-right mouthpiece, into what he described as a "platform for the alt-right." Under Bannon, Breitbart embraced white nationalist tropes like black-on-white crime, immigrant criminality, and Muslim "rape culture," and ran headlines like "Birth Control Makes Women Unattractive and Crazy." It also promoted conspiracy theories about Jewish control of the banks and media.

The site's technology editor, Milos Yiannopoulos, was permanently banned from Twitter last summer after trolling comedian Leslie Jones with a slew of racist tweets.

"Breitbart has become the alt-right go-to website, with Yiannopoulos pushing white ethnonationalism as a legitimate response to political correctness, and the comment section turning into a cesspool for white supremacist meme-makers," former editor-at-large Ben Shapiro lamented in August. Bannon left the site in July to lead Trump's campaign for office.

"Here's a thought," he told Mother Jones shortly

after joining the Trump campaign. "What if the people getting shot by the cops did things to deserve it? There are, after all, in this world, some people who are naturally aggressive and violent."

Bannon himself has been accused of violence. In a 1996 police report and in divorce proceedings, his ex-wife accused him of grabbing her by the throat and choking her. Police noted red marks around her throat, corroborating her account of the confrontation, but she failed to testify against him later. She also said he had not wanted to send their daughters to a Los Angeles area private school because it had too many Jews.

"Lenin wanted to destroy the state and that's my goal too," Bannon told Daily Beast reporter Roland Radosh in 2014. "I want to bring everything crashing down and destroy all of today's establishment."

Bannon will work with more establishmentarian Republicans in Trump's inner circle, including chief of staff Reince Priebus, who previously chaired the Republican National Committee, and the vice-president-elect, Indiana Gov. Michael Pence.

— INDYPENDENT STAFF

ELDER ABUSE

REPUBLICANS THREATEN SOCIAL SECURITY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

BY ERIC LAURSEN

Donald Trump is rolling out his White House team and forging alliances with Capitol Hill Republicans he once claimed to disdain. In the process, the conversation on Social Security has changed drastically and, for millions of Americans in the later years of their working lives, disastrously.

The US is racing toward a retirement crisis, fueled by the elimination of traditional employer-sponsored pension plans in the private sector and full-frontal attacks on those for public employees, the failure of 401(k) and other employee retirement savings plans to provide an adequate replacement, and the failure of Congress to increase Social Security benefits to make up for these shifts.

For decades, Washington has more or less ignored this problem, focusing instead on finding ways to cut benefits to solve Social Security's long-term funding problems — even though these problems are really a function of decades-long wage stagnation, which means fewer payroll tax dollars to fund the system (over \$750 billion is collected annually). And even though the decline of pensions has made Social Security more vital to working people than ever: Some 60 million people nationally receive old-age and disability benefits every year, making it by far the biggest income support program in the country. Social Security is immensely important in New York State as well, where 3.5 million people receive retiree, spousal, survivors', and disability benefits.

It was an extremely hopeful sign when, two years ago, the conversation started to change. Democrats like Sens. Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, and Sherrod Brown, and advocacy groups led to Social Security Works, began talking up proposals to boost Social Security benefits significantly for the first time in more than 40 years.

But with the Trump's election, all such talk has died out. Much has been made of the fact that the president-elect, during his campaign, argued against cutting Social Security, setting himself apart from virtually every other Republican candidate. But in previous years he has supported it, and the principal argument he mustered during the campaign was that cutting Social Security was a political non-starter — not that he didn't think it made sense on the merits.

Now that he's planning his transition, Trump is focused on repealing Obamacare and passing a massive tax cut that would overwhelmingly benefit the richest Americans. To do so, he's cozying up to Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell. Ryan, the GOP's congressional policy driver, has been pushing to "reform" — i.e., cut—Social Security for years. Tax breaks for the rich always come first when Republicans control both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue — they're the GOP version of crystal meth — and it's more likely than not that political prudence will keep them from attacking Social Security, at least during the first Trump administration.

Should Trump be reelected, however, anything could happen. With Ryan and McConnell by his side to wheedle and flatter him, he just might decide to adopt Social Security "reform" as a legacy issue. The good news is that Warren and Sanders are expected to assume a higher profile in the Senate — and both are even more convinced that tacking to the center would be fatal to Democrats. Chuck Schumer, who will become minority leader, hasn't supported expanding Social Security, but has never supported cutting it either, and has happily attacked Republicans for doing so. Together, that suggests the Dems can exercise the discipline to stall any challenge to the program with a filibuster threat.

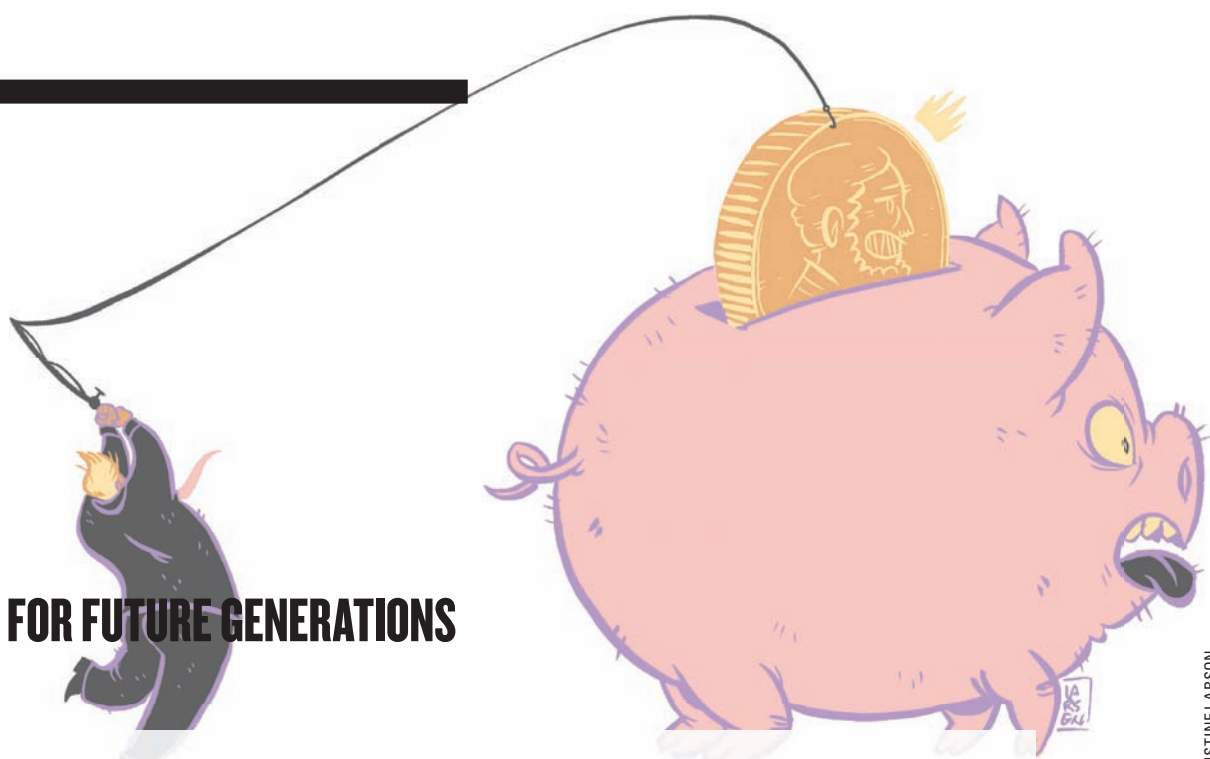
The bad news is that the balance of power could shift in 2018, when 23 Democratic Senate seats will be up for reelection — and in the era of Citizens United, it's only become harder for candidates to resist the lure of big money and the policy positions it tends to favor. Centrists will argue that the Dems either have to tack to the right or face big losses.

Some Democratic-leaning power centers in Washington were pushing back against progressive positions on issues like Social Security even before the election. The Progressive Policy Institute, a center-right think-tank, published an op-ed in late October resurrecting the flawed argument that Social Security crowds out other spending — this despite the fact that the program is entirely self-funding — and that Democrats must stop "favoring" the elderly over everyone else. The AARP, a huge lobbying power with 37 million retired or over-50 members, attempted to straddle the line politically with an ad campaign that posits an enormous loss of benefits if Social Security isn't "reformed" right away.

What's to be done? Progressives who have defended Social Security for years have pushed back hard with a petition demanding AARP stop buying into right-wing arguments about the program. They are also focusing on the pledges the president-elect made during his campaign. "If Trump goes along with plans to cut or privatize Social Security, this is a huge breach of faith with voters," writes Dean Baker of the Center for Economic and Policy Research. Activists should hold his feet to the fire, and if he broaches the subject, "this should be a career ending move for Trump and any of his accomplices."

Those concerned about the fate of retirement in America may want to look for warning signs well in advance, however.

Eric Laursen is an independent journalist and activist. He is the author of The People's Pension: The Struggle to Defend Social Security Since Reagan (AK Press, 2012).



CHRISTINE LARSON

ELECTION BRIEFS

POPULAR VOTE

Donald Trump won the presidency with at least 290 electoral votes. However, Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by more than 1 million votes, a margin that could reach 2 million once absentee ballots from California are counted. It was the second time in the last five elections that the winner of the popular vote lost in the Electoral College: Democrat Albert Gore had a 540,000-vote margin in 2000, but the Supreme Court's 5-4 decision to stop a recount in Florida gave the electoral vote to George W. Bush.

PRIVATE PRISON STOCKS RISE

Trump says he will deport anywhere from 2 to 11 million undocumented immigrants — and stocks in private-prison companies jumped the day after he was elected. CoreCivic, formerly the Corrections Corporation of America and the world's largest private-prison contractor, rose 58 percent. GEO Group, the second-largest, went up 28 percent. The federal government relies on private detention centers to hold immigrants who are awaiting a hearing on whether they should be deported.

LGBT SUICIDE HOTLINES FLOODED WITH CALLERS

Suicide hotlines specializing in gay and transgender people received a record number of calls after Trump's election. "We had more calls during election night and the day after than in all of November of last year," Greta Martela of Trans Lifeline told ABC News. At the Trevor Project, which focuses on suicide

prevention among gay youth, the number of calls, texts and requests for online chats doubled.

TRUMP WIN SPARKS CALLS FOR SECESSION

In California, where Clinton beat Trump by almost 2-1, a group calling itself the Yes California Independence Campaign says it plans to introduce a ballot initiative in 2018 proposing that the state secede from the U.S. The idea has attracted interest from a handful of Silicon Valley investors. But in Oregon, organizers quickly withdrew a proposal to secede and possibly form a new nation with California.

— INDEPENDENT STAFF

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The World Wide Refugee Crisis: Syria and Beyond

Wednesday, December 7th // 7 pm
Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church
85 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn

Sarab Al-Jiakli

Syrian-American activist and President,
Network of Arab-American Professionals

Audu Kadiri

Nigerian Asylum Seeker & Community
Organizer, African Communities Together

Flora Mej

Kosovo Refugee and Amnesty International
USA Public Outreach Representative

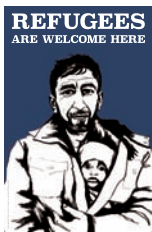
Loubna Mrie

Syrian Asylum Seeker and activist,
photojournalist

Performances by:

Sarah Sakaan, performer
Faton Macula, musician and Kosovo refugee
Taulant Mehmeti, musician

fortgreenepeace@gmail.com



Open Community Meeting

A Donald Trump Presidency: How can we resist?

Thursday, December 15th // 7 pm to 9 pm
The Commons, 388 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn (between Bond and Hoyt)

Join with Friends and Neighbors for an open discussion:

What are the new challenges to the cause of peace and social justice?

How can we build a strong political movement to defend the
members of our communities and to advance these goals?



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192 EAST BROADWAY

HAMILTON FISH LIBRARY
415 E. HOUSTON ST.

LES PEOPLE'S FEDERAL
CREDIT UNION
39 AVENUE B

TOMPKINS SQUARE LIBRARY
331 E. 10TH ST.

KEY FOOD
52 AVENUE A

BLUESTOCKINGS
172 ALLEN ST.

THEATER FOR THE NEW CITY
155 FIRST AVE.

MCNALLY JACKSON BOOKS
52 PRINCE ST.

4TH STREET CO-OP
58 E. 4TH ST.

THINK COFFEE
248 MERCER ST.

FILM FORUM
209 W. HOUSTON ST.

HUDSON PARK LIBRARY
66 LEROY ST.

CINEMA VILLAGE
22 E. 12TH ST.

LGBT CENTER
208 W. 13TH ST.

14TH TO 96TH ST

EPIPHANY LIBRARY
228 E. 23RD ST.

MUHLENBERG LIBRARY
209 W. 23RD ST.

GRISTEDES
307 W. 26TH ST.

TACO BANDITO
325 8TH AVE.

COLUMBUS LIBRARY
942 TENTH AVE.

MANHATTAN
NEIGHBORHOOD NETWORK
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YORKVILLE BRANCH LIBRARY
222 E 79TH ST.

ST. AGNES LIBRARY
444 AMSTERDAM AVE.

96TH ST. LIBRARY
112 E. 96TH ST.

ABOVE 96TH ST.

SAVOY BAKERY
170 E. 110TH ST.

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LIBRARY
BROADWAY AND 114TH ST.
115TH ST. LIBRARY
203 W. 115TH

HARLEM LIBRARY
9 W. 124TH ST.

125 STREET LIBRARY
224 E. 125TH ST.

GEORGE BRUCE LIBRARY
518 W. 125TH ST.

PICTURE THE HOMELESS
104 E 126TH ST.

MAYSLES CINEMA
343 LENOX AVE.

COUNTEE CULLEN LIBRARY
104 W. 136TH ST.

HAMILTON GRANGE LIBRARY
503 W. 145TH ST.

UPTOWN SISTER'S BOOKS
W. 156TH ST. & AMSTERDAM

FORT WASHINGTON LIBRARY
535 W. 179TH ST.

BROOKLYN

BROOKLYN BOROUGH HALL
209 JORALEMON ST.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY
1044 EASTERN PKWY.

BROOKLYN COMMONS
388 ATLANTIC AVE.

TIMES PLAZA POST OFFICE
542 ATLANTIC AVE.

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS LIBRARY
280 CADMAN PLAZA WEST

CARROLL GARDENS LIBRARY
396 CLINTON ST. @ UNION

COUSIN JOHN'S PIZZA
70 7TH AVE.

KEY FOODS
130 7TH AVE.

COMMUNITY BOOK STORE
143 7TH AVE.

ROOTS CAFÉ
639 5TH AVE.

PACIFIC STREET LIBRARY
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BROOKLYN WORKS@159
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SUNSET PARK LIBRARY
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CONNECTICUT MUFFIN
429 MYRTLE AVE.

DEKALB LIBRARY
790 BUSHWICK AVE.

MAYDAY SPACE
176 ST. NICHOLAS AVE.

WYCKOFF STARR COFFEE
SHOP
30 WYCKOFF AVE.

BUSHWICK LIBRARY
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SWALLOW CAFÉ
49 BOGART ST.

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LAUNDROMAT
561 METROPOLITAN AVE.

WILLIAMSBURG LIBRARY
240 DIVISION AVE.

GREENPOINT LIBRARY

107 NORMAN AVE.

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146 BEDFORD AVE.

BEDFORD LIBRARY
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560 NEW YORK AVE. @ MAPLE

FLATBUSH LIBRARY
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TUGBOAT TEA COMPANY
546 FLATBUSH AVE.

OUTPOST CAFE
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RED HOOK LIBRARY
7 WOLCOTT ST.

HOPE & ANCHOR
347 VAN BRUNT

JALOPY CAFÉ
317 COLUMBIA ST.

BRIDGEVIEW DINER
9011 THIRD AVE.

BAY RIDGE LIBRARY
7223 RIDGE BLVD.

MCKINLEY PARK LIBRARY
6802 FORT HAMILTON PKWY.

GALAXY COMICS
6823 5TH AVE.

QUEENS

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COURT SQUARE LIBRARY
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LONG ISLAND CITY LIBRARY
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QUEENS DIVERSITY CENTER
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JACKSON HEIGHTS LIBRARY
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BROOK PARK
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TRUMPLANDIA

A GUIDE FOR PROFESSIONAL PROTESTERS AND EVERYONE ELSE

TEXT BY PETER RUGH | DESIGN BY MIKAEL TARKELA

TRUMP INTERNATIONAL HOTEL & TOWER

1 Central Park West

The 2011 comedy *Tower Heist* was filmed here. It concerns a team of employees at a luxury highrise who scheme to rob one of the building's residents, a Wall Street banker who embezzled their pensions. Inspiring.

WOLLMAN RINK IN CENTRAL PARK

Perhaps the only mildly endearing thing Trump ever did throughout a lifetime of self-aggrandizement was renovating this ice-skating rink 30 years ago. Guests today can carve figure H8s on the frosty pond, sip hot cocoa and enjoy a white power Christmas.

TRUMP PARK AVENUE

502 Park Ave

Located on the Upper East Side, this long-time haven for old-money white people boasts some of the priciest condos in the priciest real estate market in the country. A 2014 real estate listing offered a glimpse inside one apartment that featured "coffered ceilings with 22-carat gold leaf gilding. . . an elegant Parquet de Versailles floor of solid white oak," and a bathtub "clad with large slabs of pure white Thassos marble, one of the finest marbles in the world."

Trump's tax plan is a gift to his Park Ave tenants. They'll save an average of \$1.1 million on their 2017 tax returns, while the corporate tax rate will be sliced 20 percentage points to just 15 percent. As America's wealth gap widens, we poor disheveled masses will know where to vent our rage.

TRUMP PALACE

200 E 69th St

The tallest building on the Upper East Side. This is where the .1 percent move to look down on the 1 percent. Sickened by the "degree to which the very name 'Trump' has degraded the public discourse and the nation itself," former MSNBC news anchor Keith Olbermann sold his Trump Palace condo earlier this year. "Got back 90 percent of my money and 100 percent of my soul!" Olbermann tweeted.

TRUMP PARC AND TRUMP PARC EAST

100-106 Central Park South

Misspelled words are classier. They possess European élegance. Speaking of which, France's le Front National, Holland's de Partij voor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom) and others on Europe's far-right are overjoyed by Trump's win. "What great news," Hungarian premier Viktor Orbán, who has proposed taxing the internet wrote on Facebook. "Democracy is still alive."

Orbán, like other far-right leaders, has been emboldened by Trump's assent. This summer he described refugees as "poison" and "terror risks." Sound familiar?

Trump tried to evict Parc East's rent-controlled tenants when he bought the building for \$13 million in 1981. Like America's immigrant population, they refused to leave. A seven year legal battle ensued. Trump failed. Today, some Parc East residents pay as little as a \$1000 a month in rent.

TRUMP TOWER

721 Fifth Ave

Already a target of mass demonstrations since Trump was elected, *Crain's New York*, analyzing property tax records, estimates that just 108 of the iconic building's 237 residential units are utilized by full-time residents. Did somebody say, occupy?

Be careful. Trump has bragged he could shoot someone on Fifth Ave without repercussions. He lives on the top floor of Trump Tower in a \$100 million penthouse under a fresco of Greek gods riding chariots in the heavens, surrounded by shiny gold things. He plans to return to this sanctuary each weekend after he puts in his time in the Oval Office slapping Mike Pence with a bridle whip for not governing America the best.

TRUMP WORLD TOWER

845 United Nations Plaza

The penthouse on top of this 90-story building has a waterfall in it. Bill Gates, Derek Jeter and Trump campaign spokeswoman Kellyanne Conway have all either owned apartments in the building and/or actually lived there at one point or another. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia owns the 45th floor. The tower's close proximity to the United Nations will make it an ideal location for protesters objecting to Trump's "America First" foreign policy.

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS

"I beat China all the time," Trump said when announcing his presidential bid last year. "I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable."

Hmm. Okay.

The building was recently renovated to meet LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) standards, because, you know, Trump gives a shit about the environment.

TRUMP SOHO

246 Spring St

So huge. So lavish. Not so SoHo, locals objected when the building was constructed in 2010, noting that the hulking, 46-story tower clashed violently with the district's humble historic architecture. After two-thirds of building's condos failed to sell, it was repurposed and primarily operates as a hotel these days. The *Financial Times* reported in October that former Kazakh oligarch Viktor Khrapunov, wanted on fraud and embezzlement charges back home, used Trump Soho condos to launder his illicit wealth.

40 WALL ST

Trump's most valuable property and home to some pretty unsavory tenants — scammers, embezzlers and penny stock peddlers — since Trump took it over in 1995. "[P]rosecutors have filed criminal charges against at least 29 people connected to 12 alleged scams tied to the building," *Bloomberg* reported. "Nine other firms have faced serious regulatory claims."

T TRUMP

Dear New York City tenants and guests,

As you know, the Trump brand is synonymous with big league style, classy service, amenities that are so, so good and, more recently, revulsion. Over the next four years you might notice discrepancies in the level of tranquility you've come to expect at Trump properties.

You might, for instance, be exiting your limousine outside Trump International Hotel and Tower one fine afternoon when, instead of a doorman offering to carry your shopping bags, you are greeted by unwashed professional protesters. "Shame, shame, shame," they'll shout as you scurry inside, leaving a trail Bergdorf Goodman merchandise scattered behind you.

Or perhaps you're unwinding with a glass of sherry on Bar d'Eau's pool deck at Trump SoHo after a soothing hammam experience, when a flaming bag of feces lands on your lap — catapulted your way, no doubt, from one of the lightweight losers below.

Nobody feels your pain more than Donald J. Trump. After all, our new president more than anyone is the target of unprovoked outrage on the part of immigrants, women, Muslims, Jews, African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, gays, lesbians, transgender people, unionists, Polish construction workers, Megyn Kelly, former-beauty pageant contestants and pretty much everybody in New York who isn't wealthy and white.

To the loyal visitors and tenants of Trump complexes across the city, we sincerely apologize. To everyone else, this map of Trump real estate might come in handy.

THE DEMOCRATS' IDENTITY CRISIS

BATTLE ERUPTS BETWEEN PARTY INSIDERS & THE GRASSROOTS

BY JAKE JOHNSON

The Democratic Party now finds itself in the midst of an identity crisis.

After Hillary Clinton's startling loss to the incompetent, unorganized, and bigoted Donald Trump, Democrats are now beginning the typical, solemn postmortem assessment. What, they are asking, went wrong?

Many Democrats are, in good faith, asking this question. But many, including those at the center of the Clinton team, are not. Instead they are casting about, in some cases wildly, for others to blame: James Comey, Jill Stein, young people, Bernie Sanders.

This should not be surprising. For decades, the party has operated under the principle that, as Emmett Rensin recently put it, "the Democratic Party cannot fail, it can only be failed."

Thus, Clinton's monumental loss, her unflinching apologists say, is the fault of those who failed to embrace the Clinton agenda, one that was focused not primarily on the need for a radical new approach to economics and politics, but rather on the horrifying qualities of the opposition. She assumed — falsely — that it would be sufficient to offer voters something to rally against.

The Democratic Party's identity crisis is largely of its own making. Party leadership has, over a period of decades, turned away from progressive goals under the guise of pragmatism, leaving a vast opening for right-wing phony populism to emerge.

To be sure, there are splits within the party, and thus the party's "identity" is no monolith. Contrast, for instance, the approaches of Bernie Sanders (an independent who caucuses with Democrats) and President Barack Obama.

While his personality certainly played a role in his unexpectedly successful presidential campaign, it was Sanders's ideas that sparked the enthusiasm that carried him forward and ultimately made him the most popular politician in the country. His call for a political revolution emboldened and inspired millions.

President Obama harnessed similar enthusiasm, but he frequently insisted that he was a "New Democrat" and that he was "not a particularly ideological person." Contrary to Sanders's repudiation of big money donors, Obama embraced the corporate class that bankrolled his campaign and appointed bankers and those with deep finance industry ties to key roles in his administration — a particularly striking move given the dire economic circumstances he inherited.

Throughout the primaries, Sanders spelled out, repeatedly, the fundamental difference between his own political approach and that of the president. "Thank you very much for electing me, I'll take it from here," was how he described Obama's approach. Sanders, for his part, has embraced the view that democratic change springs from the work of popular movements, not from enlightened, benevolent leaders.

To dismiss these splits within and around the Democratic Party would be to abandon key fights that will help shape both the opposition to Trump and the alternatives once he fails those he promised to save.

Already, we are seeing such fights begin to materi-

alize, and they are representative of the many paths the party could take: The coming struggle over who is to head the Democratic National Committee is one such fight that should be taken seriously.

As of writing, two of the early contenders appear to be Minnesota Congressman Keith Ellison — who formally declared his candidacy on Monday — and former DNC chair Howard Dean.

Although it is far from clear that the race will come down to these two, exploring the contrasts between them can be helpful in understanding the Democrats' much-discussed identity crisis.

Dean ran for president in 2004, and has used the resulting prominence to attain advisory positions at major firms that lobby for the pharmaceutical and biotechnology industries. In 2009 he was hired by McKenna Long & Aldridge LLP, which later merged with Dentons, Dean's current employer.

As Lee Fang of *The Intercept* has reported, Dean's views on health care have shifted substantially since he began his work for Dentons as a "senior adviser." Earlier this year, Dean joined the Clinton team's frantic and misleading attacks on Sanders's health care proposals, arguing that they would effectively eliminate Obamacare and leave people without insurance.

Dean's views can also be gleaned from a number of op-ed pieces in which, Fang observes, he is often reduced to "repeating GOP arguments"; he has argued, for instance, against allowing Medicare to negotiate drug prices.

In response to accusations that he has used his resumé in the public sphere to advance his career as an influence-peddler, Dean has offered the rejoinder that he is not, officially, a lobbyist.

This is technically true, but highly misleading. While he is not registered as a lobbyist, Fang noted in January that Dean "engages in virtually every lobbying activity imaginable, helping corporate interests reach out to lawmakers on legislation, advising them on political strategy, and using his credibility as a former liberal lion to build public support on behalf of his lobby firm clients."

Keith Ellison, on the other hand, is not a corporate lobbyist in any sense. In 2007, Ellison became the first Muslim-American to be elected to the United States Congress, and he was the second member of Congress to endorse Sanders in the Democratic primary.

Sanders has returned the favor, arguing that "the political establishment and the billionaire

class" would not be happy if Ellison became DNC chair. "Good," he added.

Along with being one of the few members of Congress to view Sanders's populist message as the proper antidote to right-wing demagoguery, he was also one of the few prominent politicians to really grasp the danger of such demagoguery early on.

During a panel discussion on ABC's "This Week" in July of 2015, Ellison said that "we better be ready for the fact that [Donald Trump] might be leading the Republican ticket."

The response from the panel, including the host George Stephanopoulos, was laughter. "I know you don't believe that," Stephanopoulos replied, smiling widely. Perhaps he is no longer smiling.

Ellison understood the moment; he grasped that Trump was taking advantage of a vacuum left by a Democratic Party that has proven unwilling or unable to deliver material gains for the working class — including those members of the white working class who voted for President Obama twice.

Some, however, have expressed skepticism that Ellison — an ardent opponent of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and an advocate of a \$15 minimum wage —

Continued on page 15

RAYs OF LIGHT

"There is a crack in everything," the late, great Leonard Cohen once wrote. "That's how the light gets in." In that spirit, here are some cracks in the darkness of Nov. 8th's results.

Voters in Maine approved ranked-choice voting, meaning they will have multiple options on the ballot. If their first pick does not win, their vote automatically defaults to their second choice. The new electoral system is expected to be a boon to third parties such as the Greens, which are often accused by critics of siphoning votes from more electable candidates.

In addition to joining three other states in legalizing recreational marijuana sales, voters in California repealed the 1998 "English in Our Schools" initiative, restoring bilingual education in public classrooms. They also upheld legislation restricting the use of plastic bags, and passed a measure that instructs their representatives in Congress to back a constitutional amendment to repeal the Supreme Court's *Citizens United* ruling, which opened the door to a flood of money into politics.

Ballot initiatives to raise the minimum wage passed in four states: Arizona, Colorado, Maine, and Washington. South Dakota voters vetoed a law to lower the minimum for workers under 18. Maricopa County, Arizona Sheriff Joe Arpaio, notorious for immigration-enforcement tactics that stretched legal bounds, lost his bid for re-election. North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory — who backed the

state's anti-trans bathroom bill this year — appears to have been defeated by 5,000 votes, although he is calling for a recount.

A number of candidates backed by Bernie Sanders' *Our Revolution* won. Ilhan Omar, a refugee, became the country's first female Somali-American lawmaker, winning a seat in Minnesota's legislature. In Washington, Pramila Jayapal won the race to succeed longtime Rep. Jim McDermott in the 7th Congressional District, which contains most of Seattle. She is the first Indian-American woman elected to Congress.

Jayapal told supporters in her victory speech that her district could be "a light in the darkness," adding: "If our worst fears are realized, we will be on the defense as of tomorrow. We will have to fight for social justice as never before."

— INDEPENDENT STAFF



BETH WHITNEY

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MON NOV 28 • 7:00PM–9:30PM

READING: Youth poets from the Bronx Academy of Letters will read poems in support of and in solidarity with the people of Haiti.

WED DEC 7 • 7:00PM–9:30PM

DISCUSSION: Join the Icarus Project NYC, part of a radical mental health support network and media project by and for people who experience the world in ways that are often diagnosed as mental illness. We envision a new culture that allows the space and freedom for exploring different states of being, and recognizes that breakdowns can be the entrance to breakthrough.

HISTORY
STATES

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DRUG REFORM

HIGH TIMES HAVE NEVER FELT SO LOW

FOUR MORE STATES APPROVED RECREATIONAL MARIJUANA MEASURES, WHAT WILL TRUMP'S JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DO?

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

While the rest of the nation was electing Donald Trump President Nov. 8, four states voted to legalize the sale and growing of marijuana under regulations somewhat stricter than those for alcohol.

California, Massachusetts, Nevada, and Maine all approved legalization initiatives, while Arizona rejected one. Eight states now allow the sale of recreational cannabis, and Washington, D.C. permits personal possession and home-growing. Meanwhile, Florida, Arkansas, and North Dakota voted to legalize medical marijuana, the first such measures in the South.

It was “a remarkable set of victories” that reflected “massive momentum” in popular support for legalization, Drug Policy Alliance head Ethan Nadelmann said on a telephone press conference the next day. But he worried that Trump could destroy many of those gains, especially if he appoints a hardline prohibitionist Attorney General.

In California, Proposition 64, the Adult Use of Marijuana Act, won 56 percent of the vote, piling up a margin of more than 1 million. It will let people 21 or older have and share up to one ounce of dried cannabis or 8 grams of concentrate, and grow up to six plants. The state will issue licenses for retailing, indoor and outdoor cultivation, and more, including “microlicenses” for small shops that both grow and sell it.

The only remaining state marijuana felonies, says Lynne Lyman, the Drug Policy Alliance’s California state director, would be selling it to a minor and using butane to make extracts at home. The about 6,000 people serving time in state prisons and jails for pot offenses could petition for release, about 1 million Californians could apply to have their criminal records expunged, and people convicted of drug charges would not be barred from the legal cannabis business.

Revenue from a 15 percent excise tax on sales and a cultivation tax will be mainly directed towards drug education and treatment, with smaller funds earmarked to help “communities disproportionately harmed by drug war policies” and to restore damage caused by pot-growing on public land. Gardens of more than 22,000 square feet would be prohibited for five years “to give the small farmers a head start,” according to Lyman.

Massachusetts’ Question 4 won by a narrower margin. It allows adults 21 and older to possess up to an ounce of marijuana, and grow up to six plants in their home. A state commission, funded by a 3.75 percent excise tax, would oversee the licensing of retail stores and commercial cultivation. Nevada’s new law is similar, except that the tax would be 15 percent and people could grow their own only if they live more than 25 miles from a store.

Maine’s Question 1 passed by barely 2,600 votes. It would let adults 21 and older possess up to 2½ ounces of marijuana, tax sales 10 percent, and allow licensed “retail social clubs” where adults could get high on the premises. But Gov. Paul LePage, a Trumpoid loudmouth, has said he would try to stop it from being implemented, on the grounds that it would force him to violate federal drug laws. In October, he said the initiative would be



CHARLYNE ALEXIS

“deadly” and allow the sale of pot-laced candy that could “kill children and pets.”

The Trump administration could cause serious problems for states that have legalized marijuana. Growing and selling it are felonies under federal law. While more than 90 percent of drug prosecutions are under state law, federal law supersedes state law.

The current federal tolerance for pot farming and retail sales in states like Colorado rests on a 2013 memorandum from Deputy Attorney General James M. Cole, which said that federal prosecutors in states that have legalized recreational or medical marijuana should concentrate their resources on things like preventing sales to minors and stopping revenue from going to gangs or cartels. If the new Attorney General were to “repudiate the Cole memo” and authorize raids on cannabis businesses, Nadelmann said, that would have a “chilling effect.”

Trump’s pick for Attorney General, Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) said at a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing in 2014 that marijuana could not be safer than alcohol because, “Lady Gaga says she’s addicted to it and it is *not* harmless.”

DPA legal director Tamar Todd is more optimistic. She said that if federal prosecutors decided to crack down on marijuana retailers, it might be difficult to get convictions in states that had voted to legalize it, and they might also encounter resistance from state officials who’d put effort into developing regulatory systems.

“I think the politics are such that they will have to respect state marijuana laws, even if they really don’t want to,” Tom Angell of the Marijuana Majority wrote in an e-mail. “Attacking broadly popular marijuana-law reforms will create huge distractions and political problems that the new administration just does not need.”

How might these votes affect the prospects for legalizing marijuana in New York? Public support for legalization is “very strong” here, says Nadelmann, and Massachusetts is right next door.

“Every time another state moves down this road, there is more pressure for New York to do the same,” state Sen. Liz Krueger (D-Manhattan) told the *Village Voice* in September. She has introduced a legalization bill in the last two legislative sessions, and plans to do it again next year.

On the other hand, both Gov. Andrew Cuomo and the Republican-controlled state Senate have opposed all but token changes to the state’s laws. In 2014, they insisted that the state’s medical-marijuana law allow only cannabis extracts and not actual herb. The GOP retained its Senate majority, which means Krueger’s bill can’t reach the floor without permission from the Republican leadership.

“If the Democrats had taken the state Senate, I’d be a lot more optimistic,” Nadelmann said.

Steven Wishnia is former news editor for High Times and author of *the Cannabis Companion*.

MOURNING AFTER

Continued from page 3

STREET HEALING

Speed. Everything was picking up speed, going too fast, blurring into a montage. I was on the train, rushing out of Long Island to the city and when I blinked, a roll of images flashed. Trump. Rain. Scared eyes. The wall. Nervous flipping of book. Rain.

The wall was in my chest. Breathing was hard labor. Muscles tense as if waiting for a giant fist to hammer me down. For the whole campaign, whole swaths of white male America had been squeezing their hands into fists and now the fight started.

The wall was in my mind. What thoughts could I think? What stories could I tell myself? When would I be told that my truth was illegal?

The train rolled into Penn Station. I dashed out, up to the street, the lights, the noise, the people. My friends texted me directions to the march and I felt them, heard them before I saw them. Loud rhythmic chants. A thundering river of people, some holding placards, some making a megaphone with their hands and booming out no to Trump, no to hate, no to fear. We wove through the thousands protesting in front of Trump Tower like a centipede but in the shuffle, broke apart. I stood there, feeling everything rising up, up, up into my throat. The rage at America. The sorrow of lost hope. The blue lit morning. An ocean of sorrow. The silence that moves through our lives. All of it rose to my lips and I just shouted, “FUCK TRUMP! FUCK TRUMP! FUCK TRUMP!”

We all yelled. We yelled for our dreams. We yelled for our loved ones. We yelled and our breath, our music was a like a horn blasting across space and time. We yelled and the wall he wanted to build came down.

RESENTMENT

Continued from page 5

Trump built a neo-fascist mass base. He was celebrated by former and current neonazis, Klansmen, White Supremacists, anti-Semites, and Islamophobes for moving their agenda to center stage.

White members of downwardly mobile working-class are susceptible to Trumpism: the scapegoating of people of color and immigrants and the belief that liberals are treacherous and subversive.

It's for the hearts and minds of all blue-collar workers that progressives must fight if they wish to combat Trumpism in the wake of Trump's victory. Unlike the complaints of relatively privileged core Trump supporters, working-class economic woes are real, and can be addressed with real solutions. Since many Trump sympathizers live in the alternate Foxy post-fact universe, however, the only way to get them to consider alternative political, social and economic solutions is through face-to-face organizing. This is what the AFL-CIO did in the last three weeks of the election, recruiting activists to “knock on one million doors in key battleground states.”

Human rights activist Scot Nakagawa, in his blog *Race Files*, warns that whether or not the left can build a movement “in time to get ahead” of the organized Right, “will be the difference between winning the day as the demography of the U.S. changes, or losing out to an increasingly reactionary” white plurality. But he urges progressives to see this moment as an opportunity:

We ought not be pessimistic about what lies ahead. We have struggled long and hard to arrive at a moment when old norms can fall to new ones. This moment may not be what we've imagined, and the fight before us will likely not be waged entirely on our terms, but the opportunity to act and make a meaningful, definitive positive difference is nonetheless before us.

Movement-building should have a second aim: pulling the Democratic Party left. This is what Trumpism and its predecessors can teach the left, just as the left once taught it to the right. Many religious right leaders openly admit that they learned their tactics and strategies from the labor and civil rights movements. It's a fact: strong and vibrant social movements pull political parties in their direction.

Some progressives will opt to try to take over the Democratic Party. Others will decide to become active in social, economic and political mass movements outside the Democratic Party. We need both strategies. Deploying an inside/outside strategy is exactly how right-wing social movements pulled the Republican Party to the far right.

As we move beyond the horrifying 2016 election, let us join local, diverse, and collaborative campaigns to defend the rights of women, people of color, immigrants, Muslims, union members, water rights activists and public schools defenders — any and all people upon whose backs Trump, with his false claims and conspiracist rants, has painted a target. It's time that we organize to take power.

Chip Berlet is the author of Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort (Guilford Press, 2000).

IDENTITY CRISIS

Continued from page 12

could win over disaffected white voters in the Rust Belt states that both helped carry Obama to victory and helped, this year, to ensure Hillary Clinton's defeat.

“Defeated Dems could've tapped Rust Belt populist to head party,” tweeted Jonathan Weisman, the deputy Washington editor of the *New York Times*. “Instead, black, Muslim progressive from Minneapolis?”

Weisman is apparently concerned that white voters in the Rust Belt will be repelled by a “black, Muslim progressive from Minneapolis.” But the focus on identity serves to obscure the appeal of an ambitious, populist economic agenda.

Throughout his run for the presidency, Barack Obama utilized such populist economic messaging in states like Wisconsin, which he carried in 2008 and 2012. Clinton diverged from this strategy in 2016, choosing instead to focus her advertising dollars on highlighting Trump's worst features, offering little in the way of a positive agenda. Clinton was simply not a credible populist; her ties to industry were too deep, her image as an establishment figure too entrenched.

Most Americans — 71 percent, according to some data — believe the economy is rigged. Most of the population also believes, again correctly, that too much power is “concentrated in the hands of a few big companies.”

Trump is a fraud, but he tapped into this reality more effectively than Clinton, who spent much of her time on the campaign trail arguing that “America is already great,” that everything is fine.

Right-wing populism cannot be countered by politicians with deep ties to corporate America. It can only be countered by progressive populists.

The choice of DNC chair seems relatively inconsequential in the face of a Republican-controlled Congress and a Trump presidency. But, as Glenn Greenwald has pointed out, it is “a perfect test of whether Dems [have] learned anything.”

The Democratic leadership and DNC members have a choice, one that will indicate the direction in which the party will move in the coming months, even years. And, once more, the choice will likely be between a candidate with deep ties to corporate America and a genuine populist with an ambitious, progressive vision for the future.

Keith Ellison as DNC chair would be a step in the right direction, while Howard Dean would represent more of the same, maintaining the status quo that helped make Trump's victory possible.

An extended version of this article is available at CommonDreams.org.

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TALKING TO MY CHILDREN ABOUT TRUMP

'I WAS AFRAID THAT WOULD HAPPEN!'

BY MARIA MUENTES

My 10-year-old son fell asleep during the election night returns. When I wake him on Wednesday morning the first thing he asks was “Who won?” When I tell him he slumps back down into his bed, “I was afraid that would happen!” he says.

He tells me he is afraid of President-Elect Trump’s proposed ban on Muslims, he imagines that Trump doesn’t know anything about Muslims and will probably just target people with olive skin and black hair like him.

“What will he do?” He asks. “Break into people’s houses to see if they’re Muslim?” His fears are not baseless, as a candidate, Trump has fanned the flames of racism and violence, against women, Blacks, Latinx, Muslims, lesbian, gay and trans people. I tell him I too am fearful of what’s to come, but we also have the ability to organize and fight back.

He tells me that when Trump says make America great again he must “have thought it was great when women couldn’t vote, and there were separate schools for black and white.” Although those are different eras historically, he has picked up on the meaning of Trump’s campaign slogan, that women and people of color have too much power. That white people are aggrieved because they perceive themselves as having lost power.

He even manages to joke about the now president-elect’s arrogance and say “Trump will change everyday words to ‘Trump’ so we all have to say his name every time we speak.”

For my 16-year-old daughter, the effects of a Trump presidency are more immediately scary. What will this mean for her as she plans to go to college in two years? Will college be unaffordable and even the meager college aid that currently exists slashed?

She describes to me the post-election day discussion at her school. Several students were crying. One girl is afraid because her mother is a teacher. Will Trump cut funding to the school or otherwise target teachers? Will her mother lose her job? How will they survive? Another student is afraid that Trump will end the public assistance benefits her family needs to survive. Yet another is afraid because she is part of a religious and cultural minority she fears could become the target of such a racist and intolerant president. “By the end we were all crying,” my daughter say, “but we realized we are not alone.” They made a plan to go to Union Square to be together with others who woke up on the morning after the election to find their very lives in the crosshairs.

My children know that we’ve been here before, even if not quite this same way. In their young lives we have marched for immigrant rights, against the war in Iraq, against the destruction of our environment and against police brutality. They know I will not dismiss their fears because I know how very real they are. They know we will fight whatever terrible changes come our way, together.

AN AWAKE TEEN-AGER

BY PRISCILLA GRIM

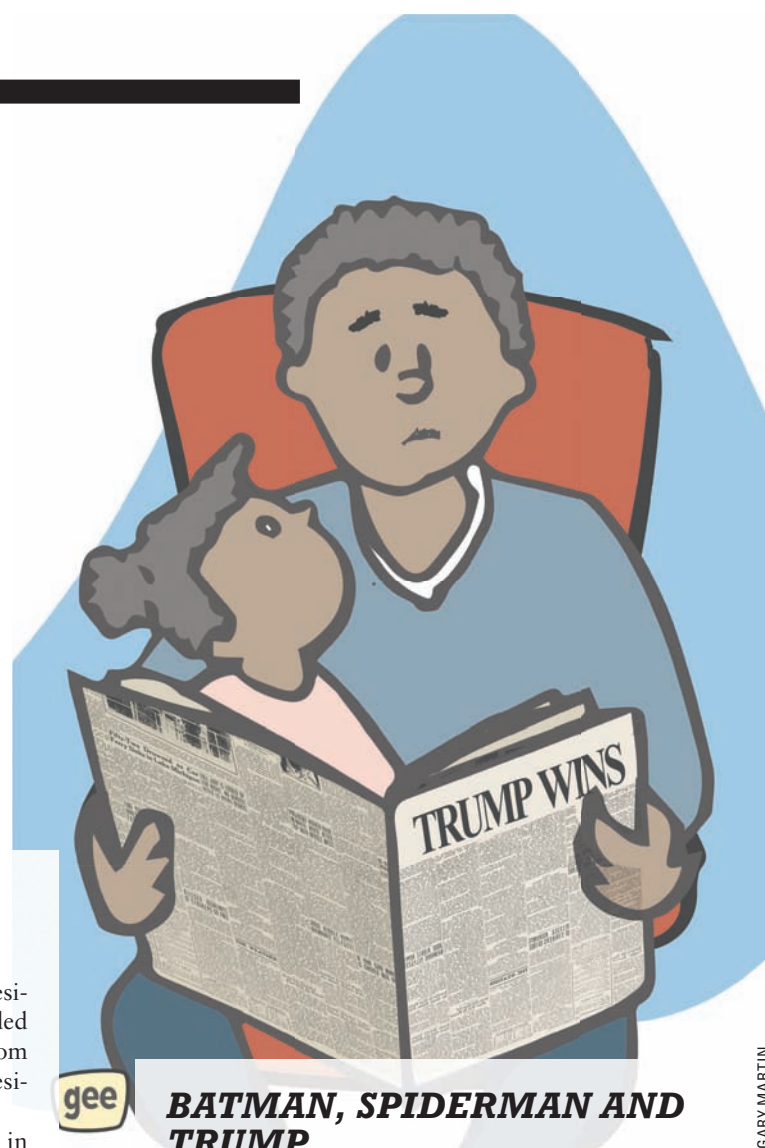
“I don’t have to go to college to become President,” my teenage daughter jokingly responded when I asked her what she has learned from witnessing this year’s theater-of-the-absurd presidential election.

As a mother, I have to continually help her in learning how to navigate a sometimes misogynistic world. She knows what to do on the subway if she is traveling alone, she knows what real friendship looks like, and she knows how to make good choices for herself. I’m not worried about my kid; I am concerned about all of the men who will now hear misogyny validated from one of the most powerful positions in the world. I am worried that she is going to grow up in a world in which her efforts and accomplishments don’t matter, because her gender will always define the space in which she will work. I am worried that she is going to grow up in a world in which she will have no control over her reproductive cycle.

I used to joke that she could go to college only in states that had safe abortion services on demand. Now I am deadly serious.

The day after Trump’s win, we went to see the Julie Ruin perform at Irving Plaza. Band member Kenny Mellman kept pleading with the “young people” in the audience to “take up the fight” against the new form of fascism that has risen in tandem with Trump. My daughter kept looking down; I think because, sometimes, growing up in Brooklyn is hard enough without having to think about fighting fascism. I point out daily that we see oppression when poverty forces people to sleep on sidewalks and teenage moms to shoplift diapers. What does “fighting fascism” look like when you are a teenage girl who just wants to watch RuPaul’s “Drag Race” after school? What does “fighting fascism” look like when you are both flirting with and fighting off objectification?

Over after-show burgers, she told me that a few of the other kids at her Park Slope school have confessed that their parents voted for Trump. “What do you think about that?” I asked her. She said they were shocked and upset. Her generation is as baffled as the rest of us as to why the words of racism and sexism have resonated strongly around the United States. Listening to her, I’m hopeful. She is awake, and I hope she will remain that way.



GARY MARTIN

BATMAN, SPIDERMAN AND TRUMP

BY LUIS MOREO-CABALLUD & BEGONLA SANTA CECILIA

Because we are interested in and affected not only by electoral or institutional politics, but also community, everyday politics, our three-year-old, Max, wants to know about it and asks questions. We have had to decide whether we try to direct his attention somewhere else or we try to include him in our political life. We are trying to do the second at the risk of sometimes sounding like we “indoctrinate” him.

Max knows about the housing movement in Spain, the PAH, because he has seen several times a documentary about people resisting evictions. From there he got the concept that some people -and “the banks”- don’t know how to share and want everything for themselves. When the angry face and the yelling of Trump appeared in his life, he quickly identified him with that kind of people.

He was asking why Trump is like that, so we made up a story about Trump’s childhood: his parents refused to love him unless he always was “the first” and the “winner” in everything. That’s why he became so angry and sad for the rest of his life. Then Max continued the story: “and then Spiderman and Batman went to his house and they played music for him so he wasn’t so sad in his heart.”

We are scared about the fate of public schools with Trump’s administration. Our son is a person of color. We worry about the increase in racism. At the same time, we think there is going to be a possibility for a stronger political alliance between social classes and races in the city to resist what’s coming.

REVEREND BILLY'S REVELATIONS

Dear Rev,
I have anxiety from this Trump thing. I'm surprised at how strong this feels. I feel unsafe with this guy and his cronies, Giuliani etc. He brings back bad memories. He scares me.

— Amy in the East Village.

DEAR AMY,
This Little Light of Mine, I'm gonna let it shine...
Donald Trump is starting to dismantle the Environmental Protection Agency. Paul Ryan wants to privatize Medicare. It is happening so fast.

I ask this question humbly, but do we have time to be anxious? The threat of Trump's impending violence puts us on a schedule like a family from Aleppo. We can run away, or stay and fight.

If we stay and fight, then we are doing what our progressive rhetoric has been saying for decades.

Trump is like a rapist comedian. After the crime he tells jokes. Trump is special though, being post-meaning and without irony. He doesn't confess or apologize. He tries to raise cruelty up to a noble pursuit, making it up on the spot. No planning, no notes, no action, no memory, no regret.

Trump is media-as-person. There's his obese late-Elvis body — but really he's a screen only. To deal with him, ironically, we need to be free of media as a dominating psychopresence. Our devotion to the glowing screen in our hands and other forms of consumer hypnosis must end. We need

to pay attention in the real world.

The other day at the White House, sitting there in a chair next to Obama, Trump looked disappointed by the whole thing, like he was already bored.

We will let our light shine and our work will help us overcome our anxiety. We need to be willing to be shamed, inconvenienced, arrested, hurt. We are being forced to be what a lot of us avoided before — a social movement.

The reason that we won't be anxious is because we will freely risk life and limb for what we believe, and we will be in a community of like-minded believers.

• • •

Dear Reverend Billy,
I'm going back home to Peoria soon for the holidays and my folks are big into Trump. I love my them but I just don't know how I'm supposed to stomach sitting at the dinner table with them, listening to all their Trump talk. Any suggestions?

— Erika, Flatbush

DEAR ERIKA,
How we face relatives and friends who were taken in by the Horror Clown is something that we'll all be studying for a long time. I am considering this in my own life, regarding my Dutch Calvinist relatives in Iowa. I go on trial in Des Moines this January for protesting too close to a party

some Monsanto executives were holding in the State Capitol building. I would like to visit those conservative people again the next time I'm in their neighborhood.

Hate is always monolithic from a distance. If there is a safe way to get closer to the hater, their condition looks more like fear, even entrapment. People are trapped out there in the rural, deindustrialized terrain between the coasts; trapped and broke and "deplorable." And they are trying to find a way to have dignity. Cynical candidates urge them to hate.

Can you be with your family and take the blows? At least for a little while? If you can rope-a-dope them and keep listening, their hate may become more complex, clearer, and even sad. At some point compassion kicks in. If you sit with the haters and slow everything down, their hate turns into something else. It's got to!

— REVEREND BILLY TALEN

Reverend Billy is an activist and political shouter, a post-religious preacher of the streets and bank lobbies.

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BOOKS

**A DIARY OF PROTEST FOR THE
DAYS TO COME**

Necessary Trouble: Americans in Revolt
BY SARAH JAFFE
NATION BOOKS, 2016

By Michael Hirsch

One might be tempted to read Sarah Jaffe's book with a kind of archaeological nostalgia, to look upon it as a remnant of a bygone-era when the left had confidence in the gains it was making, before a meteor named Trump struck earth.

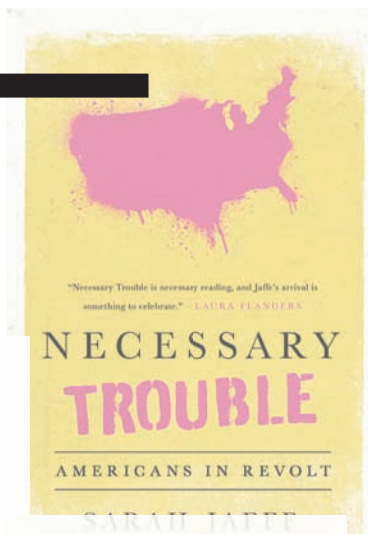
But the people Jaffe describes don't have to become fossils buried beneath the sediment of the nascent Trumpian-era. The struggles her heroes and heroines face prefigure future battles to come. Writing from the not-so ancient times of pre-election America in 2016, Jaffe offers example after example of what ordinary people can do when pushed too far and the Trump White House will likely push most of us to our limits.

Necessary Trouble: Americans in Revolt is chockablock with stories we can learn from of ordinary Americans who have just about all they can bear. Shaken out of complacency and resignation they rise confront the social problems affecting their lives.

They were moved first to make changes directly around them, at work, in their communities, and their cities, but their increased involvement in activism broadened their horizons. It led them to think beyond the scope of their immediate interests, to seek common ground and work with others struggling with distinct but overlapping troubles. Jaffe's vivid narrative outlines the transition from the personal to the political. The people she profiles were moved by experiences of intimate and communal loss to confront a social and economic system that is long past its sell-by date.

The book's snappy title comes from an interview Jaffe conducted in 2013 with Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.), a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee during the 1960s civil-rights movement. Lewis said that election activity was just one part of the process of social change. Activists, he insisted, need to find "a way to get in the way," to "get into trouble, good trouble, necessary trouble."

The book, to its credit, isn't a simple rhetorical call to "unite and fight," though it could be read as a faithful diary of protest. It charts the struggles of dozens of hard-working, mostly young and neophyte activists who sought to right social wrongs in the years following the 2008 Great Recession — to end police murders of African-Americans, to clean up toxic dumpsites, to restore their labor unions. The Walmart employees Jaffe profiles took their grievances not just to individual store managers but to the company's home office



in Bentonville, Ark.

Jaffe clarifies murky terms like "horizontalism" and "intersectionality" by showing how they operate in practice within protest

organizations. Leadership can be both diffused and effective, she illustrates. Class and identity are not at variance, but indissolubly entwined.

Her sketch of the Labor Religion Coalition of New York State is one example of the intersectional nature of struggle. The ongoing battle to end the school-to-prison-pipeline teaches activists from the diverse groups in the coalition that ending mass incarceration requires living-wage jobs.

One the book's strongest chapters covers police militarization. Jaffe documents how weapons developed in war zones and occupied nations abroad are now used routinely on restive, urban populations at home.

Another powerful chapter deals with storm-damage rescue work in New York following Hurricane Sandy. Jaffe tells how former Occupy Wall Street protesters launched a massive relief effort in the Rockaway peninsula when the Red Cross and the Federal Emergency Management Agency failed to deliver aid.

Surprisingly, Jaffe has some kind words for conflicted Tea Party members who don't buy the Republican claptrap that unleashing business from regulation will raise all boats or that corporate leaders are job producers.

Will those Tea Partiers come around to fight for social justice someday? Is wondering about that overly optimistic? Blind to the dangers of the coming Age of Trump?

Perhaps, but we knew a Clinton administration would be no springtime in paradise. Neoliberalism is an uninspiring alternative to Trumpism, and the neoliberal order is cracking up, even if it is doing so in a manner few imagined possible. A finely written book such as Jaffe's is not just a palliative of hope: The stories she reports of people building power through struggle offer a healthy direction forward.

SUNDAYS NOV 20 THRU DEC 18
1:30PM • \$15
HOLIDAY SHOW: REVEREND BILLY AND THE STOP SHOPPING CHOIR Earthalujah! Reverend Billy and the Stop Shopping Choir, an NYC-based radical performance community that includes 50 performers and a congregation in the thousands, are back at Joe's Pub. Join wild anti-corporate gospel shouters and Earth loving urban activists as they exorcise the demons of consumerism and militarism from our city and the planet this holiday season. More at RevBilly.com. Also, check out Reverend Billy's new advice column on page 17. Joe's Pub
425 Lafayette St.

TUE NOV 29
7PM–10PM • FREE
CLIMATE CHAOS: *WORLD WAR 3 ILLUSTRATED*
Release party for CLIMATE CHAOS, the new issue of the longstanding, alternative graphic magazine *WW3 Illustrated*. The night will feature presentations from Seth Tobocman and *The Indy's* Steve Wishnia, among others. Max Fish
120 Orchard St

WED NOV 30
7PM–9PM • FREE
TALK: *THIS VAST SOUTHERN EMPIRE*
A discussion with *Jacobin* editor Matt Karp and famed historian Eric Foner, on slavery and struggles over control of the U.S. state. This event will celebrate the release of Matt Karp's first book, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Obtain tickets in advance at bit.ly/2fiV1ac. New School University Center
65 5th Ave

THU DEC 1
6PM–8PM • FREE
HONORING THE LEGACY OF BLACK WOMEN RADICALS
Black women who were at the forefront of the black revolt in the 1960s have been omitted from history books. Now the time is ripe to uncover their stories. Ashley Farmer will describe the story of New York's Mae Mallory, including her courageous fight for freedom from the Harlem Nine to the Monroe self-defense movement. Joseph Fitzgerald will detail the story of New York's Gloria Richardson from the militant Cambridge Movement in Maryland to her alliance with

Malcolm X. Follow this link to register in advance: bit.ly/2g0omHB. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture
515 Malcolm X Blvd

FRI DEC 2
6PM–9PM • FREE
LAUNDRY WORKERS CENTER FUNDRAISING GALA
Members of the Laundry Workers Center have inspired so many in New York and beyond. They are immigrants fighting for justice in the workplace, backed up by union members, activists and community groups. Join them in celebrating their progress and help support their worker-led, militant organizing model. 33 W 14th St.

FRI DEC 2–SUN DEC 12
Daily • \$18, \$13 for students, children and seniors
BREAD AND PUPPET THEATER: *WHAT FORWARD CIRCUS*
A group of stone-age technology puppeteers, brass players, and percussionists check out the prominent forward-moving passions and politics of our capitalist culture, and make real and unreal against-the-grain proposals to identify and fight an anonymous monster: the big fat Wrong. This show comes complete with Mongolian hordes, singing toilets and stilted flying businessmen! The curtain goes up at 8 PM daily, with additional 3 PM performances on weekends. For tickets and more information visit theaterforthenewcity.net. Theater for the New City
155 1st Ave

SAT DEC 3
8PM–11PM
BOOKS THROUGH BARS 20TH ANNIVERSARY BINGO FUNDRAISER
NYC Books Through Bars is an all-volunteer group that sends free, donated books to incarcerated people across the county and has been doing so for 20 years. Join them for a fun night to raise much-needed funds for postage to mail packages of books! Bingo cards per round will be \$3 each or 2 for \$5. There will be beer from the Brooklyn Brewery and many great prizes. Mayday Space
176 St Nicholas Ave,

SUN DEC 4
12PM–6PM • FREE
2ND ANNUAL LEFT HOLIDAY BOOK AND PRINT FAIR
Before books get banned come

support the publishers and print collectives that keep us informed with great writing, research and beautiful, striking prints to carry us, our friends and families into the coming year. The Commons Brooklyn
388 Atlantic Ave

MON DEC 5
7PM–10PM • \$30
CELEBRATE 20 YEARS OF *DEMOCRACY NOW!*
Join Harry Belafonte, Noam Chomsky, Patti Smith, Danny Glover, Danny DeVito, Amy Goodman, Juan González and more for a historic evening celebrating 20 years of *Democracy Now!* Tickets available at DemocracyNow.org. The Riverside Church
490 Riverside Dr.

MON DEC 5
7PM • Sliding scale, \$6–\$15
TALK: ORGANIZING IN THE GIG ECONOMY
The gig economy has been called the future of work. But, as *Indy* Associate Editor Peter Rugh will detail, it's really just plain 19th-century-style exploitation. But while Silicon Valley is turning back the clock on progress, gig workers are organizing and fighting back. The Commons Brooklyn
388 Atlantic Ave

TUE DEC 6
6:30–8:30PM • \$7–\$10
DEATH AND MOURNING IN AMERICAN FOLK MUSIC
Musicians Eli Smith, the Four O'Clock Flowers, and Mamie Minch will play American folk songs centered around the theme of death and mourning in the down-home tradition. A conversation with the musicians will conclude the performance. American Folk Art Museum
2 Lincoln Square

TUE DEC 6
7PM–9PM • FREE
BOOK LAUNCH: *"ALL THE REAL INDIANS DIED OFF" AND 20 OTHER MYTHS ABOUT NATIVE AMERICANS*
Author's Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker will discuss their latest work which critically deconstructs persistent myths about Native Americans that have taken hold in the United States. Bluestockings Books
172 Allen St. • 212-777-6028 • bluestockings.com

FRI DEC 9
6:30PM • FREE
COQUITO MASTERS QUALIFYING ROUND
As part of the 15th Annual Coquito Masters competition, contestants bring in their version of coquito, a traditional Puerto Rican holiday drink made with rum and coconut. You become the judge to see who goes on to the 2016 New York finals! ID required to taste and vote. Presented by the International Coquito Federation. Bronx Museum of the Arts
1040 Grand Concourse

WED DEC 12–SUN DEC 18
Daily • \$18, \$13 for students, children and seniors
BREAD AND PUPPET THEATER: *FOUST 3*
The demand for more light which Goethe issued at his own death requires a new model of Foust, an actor in the history of light, a conspirator who pursues the disordering of the existing order of life, and sides with the Proletariat's demand for the radicalization of leisure. The show starts at 8 PM daily with additional 3 PM performances on weekends. For tickets and more information visit theaterforthenewcity.net. Theater for the New City
155 1st Ave

FRI DEC 16
9PM–2AM • \$15
KRAMPUSFEST: BUSHWICK'S ANTI-CHRISTMAS PARTY
Cult rites, bonfires, electronic music — everything you need to get in the Krampus spirit. Catland
987 Flushing Ave.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR:
JANUARY 20
STAND AGAINST TRUMP
Progressives from all over the country will be descending on the United States capitol to stage a massive demonstration along Pennsylvania Avenue on Inauguration Day. This is your chance to stand together with tens of thousands of people against war, racism, xenophobia, inequality and Trump. Washington, D.C.



WOMEN WHO WOULDN'T BE MOVED: On Dec 1, the Schomburg Center remembers the forgotten black heroines of the civil rights era, including Gloria Richardson, the bad-ass pictured above.

PREACHING IT: Mad genius and *Indy* columnist Reverend Billy and his Stop Shopping Choir are exorcising America's demons at Joe's Pub this holiday season. Can you feel it?

JOE GUILTY

Reverend Billy AND THE STOP SHOPPING CHOIR

5 SUNDAYS AT 2 PM

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NOVEMBER 27
december 4
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